1: Holmberg--51 (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 551, 601, 621

"One feature of Siriono society makes it most difficult for the ethnologist to determine the actual constitution of the band. A very active system of teknonymy operates to make the collection of genealogies an almost impossible task. Every time a Siriono is the father or the mother of a child, his name is changed to that of the child with an additional suffix indicating father or mother. This, coupled with the fact that nicknames are also frequently changed, makes it possible for an Indian to have as many as 15 or 20 names during the course of a lifetime. One's father, for instance, will not have the same name after one's own birth that he had after the birth of one's elder brother. Consequently, if the ethnographer asks two people, whom he knows to be brothers, the name of their father, he may get two entirely different names for the same person."

1: Holmberg--51 [2] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 551, 601

"When I first began to work among the Siriono I remained entirely ignorant of the system of teknonymy until I began to collect genealogies. Analysis of these proved to be useless in establishing relationships between people whom I knew to be related. A dead ancestor was almost always referred to by as many names as I had informants. After 4 months' study at Casarabe—made difficult, of course, by the break-down of the old social organization—I was unable to check my findings by genealogies because of the operation of teknonymy, even though I had acquired a fairly complete knowledge of the kinship system and the rules of marriage through face-to-face relationships."

1: Holmberg--51 [3] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 551, 601

"By the time I got to Tibaera, of course, my knowledge of the language had increased considerably and I was well aware of the system of teknonymy. Thus when I returned from the forest with the band of Ačíba-eóki (Long-arm) in October, 1941, I threw away my old genealogies and began systematically to collect new ones from almost every member of this group. Careful analysis of this material, though much of it proved useless, revealed that, even with the operation of teknonymy, certain nicknames in particular tended to persist, and I was thus able to get a number of reliable instances where two men who said they were brothers actually did have the same father and mother. Once having a tangible basis of this kind to work upon, I was able to trace out rather fully, by checking back on old names, a number of genealogies and to work out the kinship system and rules of marriage. I was never able, however, to determine the actual kinship of every band member to every other band member, even though I could record the kinship terms by which they designated each other."

1: Holmberg--52-54 (1941-42) 1950 Siriono-1-7
116, 601

"There are only 11 fundamental kinship terms by which relatives are designated among the Siriono. As can be seen by examining charts 1, 2, 3, and 4 and the list of terms given below, the kinship system is a highly classificatory one; many relationsips are signified by a single term.

Kinship term:	Relatives to whom applied (1)
1. Male and female speaking unless otherwise designated.	
(1) ámi----------	Father's father. Father's father's brother. Father's father's sister's son. Father's mother's brother. Father's mother's brother's son. Mother's father. Mother's father's brother. Mother's father's brother's son. Mother's mother's brother. Mother's mother's brother's son. Mother's mother's sister's son.

Mother's brother.
Father's sister's husband.
Father's sister's son (M, S.)
Wife's father (M.S.)
Wife's father's father (M.S.).
Sister's husband (M.S.).
Husband's father (F.S.).
Husband's father's father (F.S.).
Husband's sister's husband (F.S.).
Old man.

(2) ári---------- Father's mother.
Father's mother's sister.
Father's mother's sister's daughter.
Father's father's brother's daughter.
Father's father's sister's daughter.
Mother's mother.
Mother's mother's sister.
Mother's mother's brother's daughter.
Mother's brother's wife.

Father's father's sister.
Father's sister.
Father's sister's daughter.
Wife's mother (M.S.).
Wife's mother's mother (M.S.).
Husband's mother (F.S.).
Husband's mother's mother (F.S.).
Husband's sister (F.S.).
Old woman.

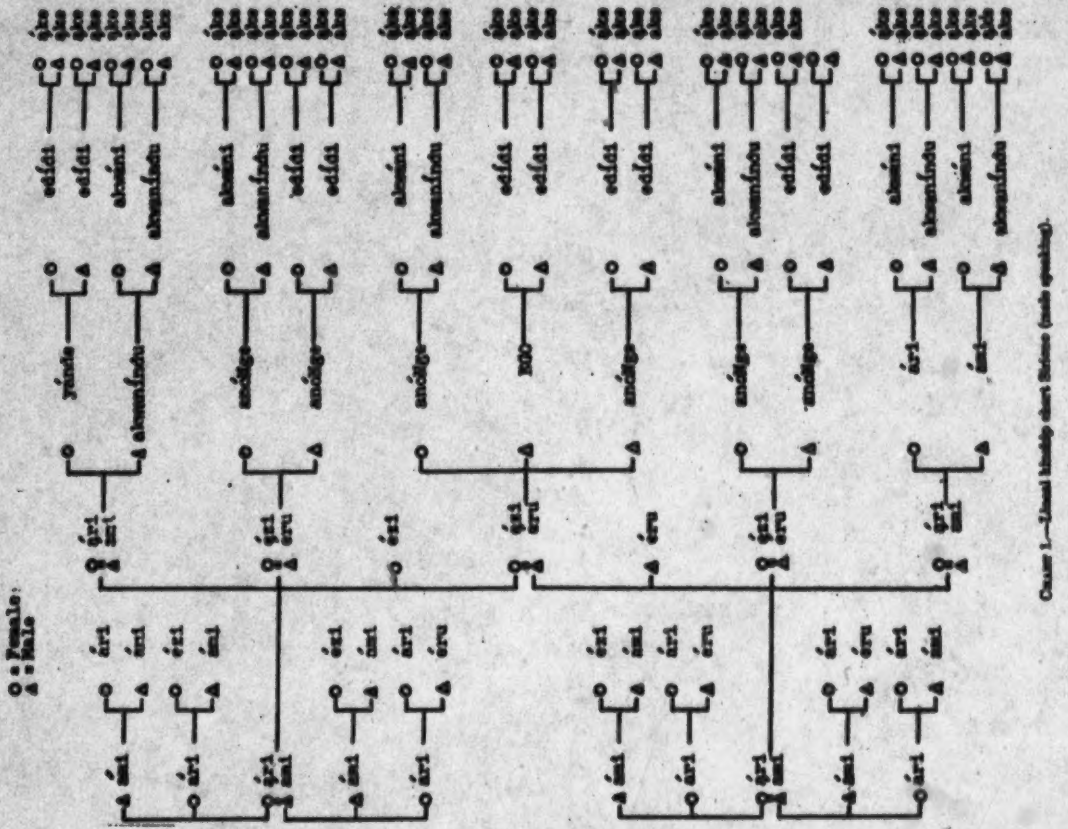
(3) éru---------- Father
Father's brother.
Mother's sister's husband.
Father's father's brother's son.
Father's mother's sister's son.
Stepfather.

(4) ézi---------- Mother.
Mother's sister.
Father's brother's wife.
Father's mother's brother's daughter.
Father's father's brother's daughter.

1: Holmberg--53
116, 601

(1941-42) 1950

Siriono



Mother's mother's sister's daughter.
Stepmother.

(5) anóNge---------- Brother.
Sister.
Mother's sister's son.
Mother's sister's daughter.
Father's brother's son.
Father's brother's daughter.
Half brother.
Half sister.

(6) yánde---------- Mother's brother's daughter (M.S.).
Wife's sister (M.S.).
Wife's sister's husband (M.S.).
Father's sister's son (F.S.).
Husband's brother (F.S.).
Husband's brother's wife (F.S.).
Potential wife (M.S.).
Potential husband (F.S.).

(7) akwaníndu---------- Mother's brother's son.

Mother's brother's son's son.
Father's sister's daughter's son.
Son-in-law.
Mother's sister's daughter's son (M.S.).
Sister's son (M.S.).
Father's brother's daughter's son (M.S.).
Father's sister's son's son (M.S.).
Wife's brother (M.S.).
Mother's brother's daughter's son (F.S.).
Mother's sister's son's son (F.S.).
Brother's son (F.S.).
Father's brother's son's son (F.S.).

(8) akwáni---------- Mother's brother's son's daughter.
Daughter-in-law.
Mother's sister's daughter's daughter (M.S.).
Sister's daughter (M.S.). [54]
Father's brother's daughter's daughter (M.S.).
Father's sister's daughter's daughter (M.S.).
Father's sister's son's daughter (M.S.).
Wife's brother's wife (M.S.).

Mother's brother's daughter (F.S.).
Mother's brother's daughter's daughter (F.S.).
Mother's sister's son's daughter (F.S.).
Brother's daughter (F.S.).
Father's brother's son's daughter (F.S.).
Father's sister's daughter's daughter (F.S.).
Brother's wife (F.S.).

(9) edídi---------- Son.
Daughter.
Stepson.
Stepdaughter.
Brother's son (M.S.).
Brother's daughter (M.S.).
Father's brother's son's son (M.S.).
Father's brother's son's daughter (M.S.).
Mother's sister's son's son (M.S.).
Mother's sister's son's daughter (M.S.).
Mother's brother's daughter's daughter (M.S.).
Mother's brother's daughter's son (M.S.).

Sister's son (F.S.).
Sister's daughter (F.S.).
Father's brother's daughter's daughter (F.S.).
Father's brother's daughter's son (F.S.).
Father's sister's son's daughter (F.S.).
Mother's sister's daughter's daughter (F.S.).
Mother's sister's daughter's son (F.S.).

(10) áke---------- Grandson.
Granddaughter.
Child of nephew or niece.
Child of first cousin once removed.
Child.

(11) nininízi (2)---------- Wife (M.S.).

2. I am not positive that this term is applied to both husband and wife. Since the kinship system makes no sex distinctions between potential husband and potential wife, I am fairly certain that the same term is applied to actual husband and wife.

Husband (F.S.)."

1: Holmberg--54 (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 551, 601

"Kinship terms are more frequently used in address than personal names or nicknames. The latter, however, are sometimes employed in address and frequently (particularly nicknames) in reference. In husband-wife relationships, moreover, special teknonymic usages prevail. After a child has been born, a man addresses his wife as akési (mother-of-child) and he is addressed by her as akéndu (father-of-child). These usages, so far as I know, do not extend to other relationships."

"The outstanding characteristics of the kinship system are the following:

(1) Kinship is bifurcate-merging. The father's brother is classified with the father, while the mother's brother is designated by another term; similarly, the mother's sister is classified with the mother, while the father's sister is designated by another term.

(2) Grandparents are not distinguished in kinship terminology. Grandfathers and their brothers are designated by the same term as mother's brother, while grandmothers and their sisters are designated by the same term as father's sister.

(3) No sex distinctions are made between siblings and parallel cousins, all of whom are designated by one term.

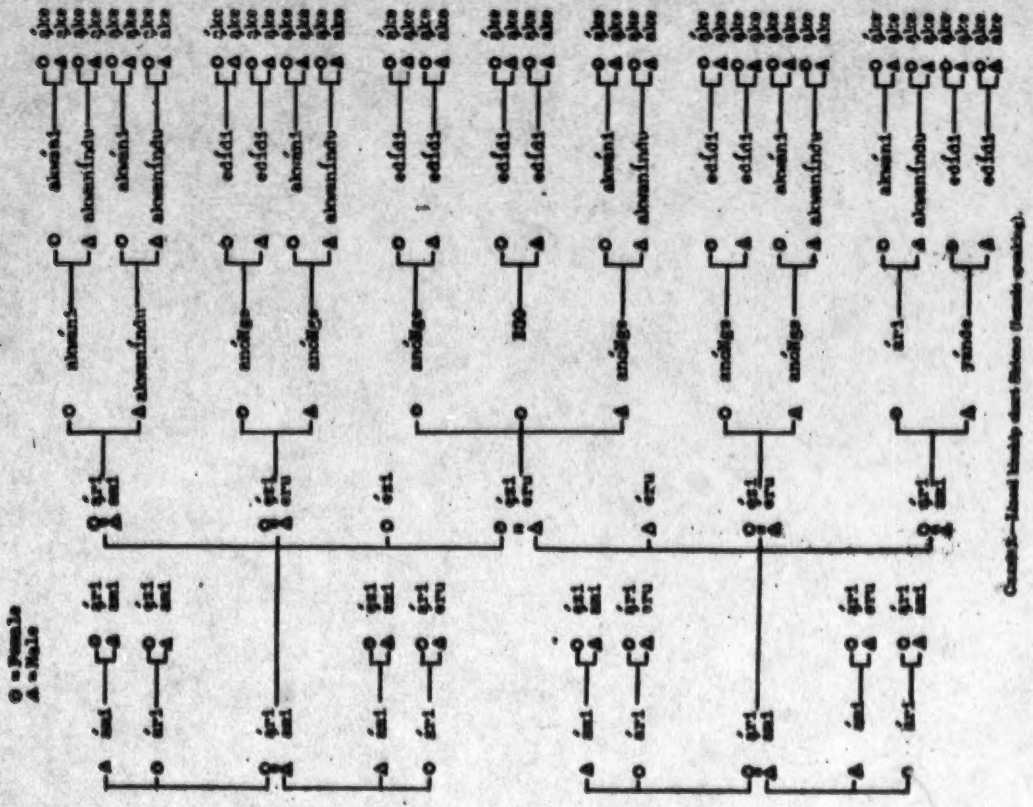
(4) Cross-cousins are distinguished from parallel cousins, and the cross-cousin terminology reflects the system of marriage. A man marries his mother's brother's daughter, a woman her father's sister's son. Marriage between a man and his father's sister's daughter or between a woman and her mother's brother's son is forbidden. The cross-cousins whom one can marry are referred to by the term 'potential spouse.' The father's sister's children are terminologically classified with the father's sister and her husband, i.e., they are raised one generation, while the mother's brother's children are classified with nephews and nieces, i.e., they are terminologically depressed one generation. On the basis of cousin terminology the kinship system is thus of the Crow type.

(5) No sex distinctions are made between son and daughter, both of whom are designated by the same term, and this term is extended to include the children of siblings and of

1: Holmberg--55
116, 601

(1941-42) 1950

Siriono



parallel cousins of the opposite sex.

(6) Special terms showing sex differences are employed to designate the sons and daughters of [56] siblings and parallel cousins of the opposite sex.

(7) No sex distinctions are made between grandson and granddaughter, or the children of nephews and nieces, all of whom are called by one term.

(8) There are no special affinal terms except the one for actual spouse.

(9) No age distinctions are made for any type of relatives."

CHART 4.—Affinal kinship chart Siriono (female speaking).

CHART 5.—Affinal kinship chart Siriono (male speaking).

1: Holmberg--81 [2] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 582, 601

"Of the 14 marriages which I analyzed in one of the bands, 6 were between a man and his mother's brother's daughter. The rest were either between second cross-cousins, first cross-cousins once removed, classificatory cross-cousins, or nonrelatives. Although marriage between a man and his father's sister's daughter is forbidden, I did however, find one instance of a secondary marriage between a man and his father's sister's daughter's daughter, i.e., his first cross-cousin once removed through his father's sister. But marriages of this kind are exceptional (secondary, etc.) rather than the rule, as attested by the fact that almost 50 percent of them were between a man and his mother's brother's daughter. The preference for the latter type of marriage is also clearly reflected in the kinship system. A man calls his mother's brother's daughter 'potential spouse,' and a woman calls her father's sister's son 'potential spouse,' while a man calls his father's sister's daughter by the same term that he calls his father's sister, and a woman calls her mother's brother's son by the same term that she calls her brother's son."

2: Holmberg--188 (1941-42) 1946 Siriono
116, 601, 835

"In all sexual relations, basic incest taboos must be strictly observed. That is to say, it is strictly forbidden to have sexual intercourse with any member of one's nuclear family, except one's spouse. Among the Siriono these incest taboos are generalized to include non-family members who are designated by the same kinship term as those used for members of the nuclear family. Consequently one may not have sexual relations with a parallel cousin, with the child of a sibling of the same sex, with the child of a parallel cousin of the same sex, with a sister or parallel cousin of the mother, with a brother or parallel cousin of the father, or with the child of anyone whom one calls 'potential spouse.' In addition to these taboos, which are clearly reflected in the kinship system, sex relations with the following relatives are also regarded as incestuous: grandparent and grandchild, parent-in-law and child-in-law, uncle and niece, aunt and nephew, a woman and her mother's brother's son, and a man and his father's sister's daughter."